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Christmas, 1944

Christian Principle and Social Structure
Education for Democracy

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Christmas, 1944

By Roger T. Nooe *

*"And they shall call his name Immanuel;
Which is, being interpreted, God with us."*

*"To shine upon them that sit in darkness and
the shadow of death;
To guide our feet into the way of peace."*

*"Now lettest thou thy servant depart, Lord,
According to thy word, in peace;
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation."*

IN A WORLD, unknowing, blind, and unconsolated, let us thank God for Christmas. It remains a mark of everlasting light that no darkness can put out. It is a song on the air that all the winds of hate cannot silence. They bear its message even as they try to destroy it.

Christmas is the unveiling of God with us. Still there are those who are dismayed by the coming of this season with its overflow of happy surprises and running laughter. Only those whose hearts have known sorrow and loneliness can understand. Yet, though merriment be denied, all of us with open hearts may receive blessedness in the peace that passeth understanding and the purpose for living that links our lives with the Eternal. The shepherds were afraid until they heard that unto them a Saviour was born.

We cannot make Christmas. It is beyond all human architecture. Our hands did not fashion Him who from everlasting to everlasting is God. Our lips did not speak into existence the Eternal Word that became flesh and dwelt among men. Christmas, however, can make us, as our minds are renewed in the freshness of its spirit. It never really comes until in adoration to the Highest and service to the lowliest we find that better than our plans and stronger than our frustrations is the purpose of the Eternal for our lives.

One of the tenderest stories in the Gospel of the Nativity is that of Simeon, who waited long to see the salvation of the Lord in the Promised One.

* Used with permission of the World Alliance of International Friendship Through the Churches.

At length there dawned the day when his very eyes saw the young Child in the Temple, and his own arms held him as he said: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel."

What would we like to see? We may for our profit and even the world's advantage ask that question. Our swift and easy answers would run the gamut of hopes and hates. We all would like to live to see the end of the war, but beyond this is the making of a great peace. We all would like to live to see tyranny over the bodies and souls of men broken forever, but beyond this is the exploring of new paths of freedom through the highway of the world.

Christmas reveals the ideal as real. Its spirit is in the structure of the universe. Its truth is plowed into history. This Christmas will take us deeper and be different if we make answer to the question of what we should like to live to see in the light of the season we celebrate. Then, as we come adoringly to the Holy Child of Bethlehem, we would hallow in our thought and action the children of all races and nations of the world.

Here is a possible clue to the wisest statesmanship. Here is judgment upon all the Herods of war and peace, who for vaulting ambition or selfish gain slaughter the innocents by slow or swift decree. These little ones of the earth, who have "no language but a cry" and no power to order the world into which they are brought, sorely need friends who have the spirit of Him who said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven."

All our social schemes and all our plans for a "brave new world" may well be tested by what they do for children of all races. For every child to have a fair chance to grow lithe of limb, nurtured of mind, illumined of spirit, unafraid of the terror by night or the destruction that wasteth the morning as well as noonday is the logic of civilization and the fulfillment of the love of our Lord.

If the song of the angels is not to mock us and leave us cold, we have need to see as in an undying dream and devotion a world made safe for children, infused with good will, and established in righteousness.

Christmas is both a gift and a goal. By so much as we receive Him who gives us power to become and to overcome, God is with us. By so much as we give ourselves to the goal that all the forces of destructiveness cannot countermand, God is for us.

Christian Principle and Social Structure

*By Donald H. Stewart **

I. The Christian and Society

Any attempt seriously to live the good life involves the Christian in the tensions which arise between the ideal of personal intention and the actualities of social structure. Every individual's life is framed in society. This is an inescapable context and there is always a warfare between the spirit's quest and the limitations imposed upon that quest by the frame of society, the scaffolding of accepted customs. Hence the Christian man has a double line of duty, an individual and a social task. Together they constitute complete personal living. Their divorce breeds that atomic individualism which is the prime difficulty of our time. Man can be depersonalized both by abstracted individualism, and by immersion in a materialistic collectivism.

Man's individual task is plain. He must realize that inner renovation and conversion must precede all outer construction. The just and equitable management of the whole bread and butter dimension—wages, real estate, rent, housing, insurance—depends upon the antecedent discipline of man's will to power. The

"good society" will be composed only when men are "good." A better society can arise only when there are a greater number of men who sincerely desire to be good. The individual must come to the point where he gladly accepts the kingly rule of the Spirit of Righteousness over his otherwise anarchic pretensions to power.

This private and inner intention to accept the rule of God over a man's desires and will is the spiritual basis of all sound politics and society. "Seek ye first the kingly rule of God and . . ." This is the prerequisite of all subsequent social actions. It is the task of the new creation, and it begins with the particular cleansing of the individual man. This is one line of duty for Christian man. He must hear and seek to obey, i.e., to embody, this word.

But man, yes, even the whole aggregate of Christian men, cannot manage or bring about the right production and distribution of the bread and butter, the "things" of material existence, by merely a cleansed personal intention. Why this is so is plain. The context within which the Christian man seeks to effect the embodiment of his cleansed intention is already structuralized. The habit patterns of society have

* Minister, Central Presbyterian Church, Houston, Texas. The introduction to the Report of the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Synod of Texas of which Dr. Stewart is chairman.

already taken on a form. A predatory and selfish generation has crystallized human social and business relations in forms of behavior which both enshrine and abet the selfishness of man. These existing forms are largely inhospitable to effective prosecution of mutual patterns of behavior. The structure of society is not altogether evil, but it certainly does not have any marked resemblance in its present-day features to the Spirit of Righteousness.

From this it is obvious that the individual Christian must fight upon a social front as well as an individual front, upon an outer and visible disorder, as well as upon an inner and invisible chaos. The Christian man must recognize that while he must "render . . . unto God the things that are God's" he can do this properly only by rendering "unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." That is to say, he can discharge his responsibility as fully God's child only when he accepts his responsibility to do his part to bring Cæsar's ways—the whole realm of economic and political life—under the discipline of the Spirit's rule. Political and economic habits and structures which frustrate the effective embodiment of the spiritual imperative of justice and mutuality between men and nations must be challenged by the Christian intention of Christian men.

The life of the Spirit when it is vital and robust is always critical of the unspiritual forms of the accepted

economic and political scaffolding or habit patterns. To leave the unchanged is to nullify all the professions of the will to goodness on the part of the individual will to righteousness. If we would be more righteous than we are, then we must be good architects and wise. The outer channels that canalize human actions must be made less comfortable with selfish and more expressive of spiritual ends.

All this has profound meaning for the Christian fellowship. If the Church is to be indeed the conscience of society it can be so only by realizing that the conscience which it is meant to be is not one of mere words. The Christian conscience must become that energized, disciplined, and active power which lays strong hands upon the forces of our times. This can be done only as the Church effectively awakes its members to their vocation to incarnate individually in the affairs of Cæsar's realm the power and effectual witness of Christian faith in action.

The relevance of the Church and of the Christian conscience will become apparent to the extent that Christian action gives to the Christian conscience the teeth to bite with practical effectiveness into the issues of the day. *The Christian conscience is not an edict by the assembled clergy. It is the love of God in action.*

(Continued on page 25)

Acts—the Test of Dumbarton Oaks

By Vera Micheles Dean *

THE admittedly tentative proposals for the establishment of a general international organization to be known as the "United Nations," formulated by representatives of the United States, Britain, Russia, and China during the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, held in Washington between August 21 and October 7, are bound to be received with mixed feelings. So much poignant hope has been placed during the grim war years in the possibility of establishing an international organization that would prevent similar holocausts in the future that the draft charter made public on October 9 will be viewed by many as falling short of their expectations. And those who have feared that the Big Four would, at least in the first instance, create a great-power directorate whose authority in matters of security would have to be acknowledged by the smaller nations will feel that the charter confirms their fears.

The Possible vs. the Desirable. In judging the published results of Dumbarton Oaks, however, it is only fair to bear in mind that not all the goals which seem desirable in relations between nations are, in prac-

tice, attainable today. The very fact that the United Nations are still far from having won the war either in Europe or Asia gives far more weight to the possession of military power than would be the case once hostilities are over. And no one can deny that if the influence of a nation is to be judged in terms of military power—leaving out all considerations of its peacetime contribution to civilization—then the United States, Britain, and Russia are obviously the countries whose decisions affect most profoundly both the course of the war and the character of the peace. Of the three, Russia is reported to have placed the strongest emphasis on the necessity of leaving major decisions concerning world security to the great powers. This is due at least as much to its uninhibited bluntness in appraising international relations as to any peculiar attachment on its part to the prerogatives of a great power. For the United States and Britain have not hesitated, when the occasion presented itself, to act on the assumptions expressed by Russia.

According to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, then, the keystone of the projected international organization will be the Security Council, composed of five permanent members—the United States, Britain, Russia,

* Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., New York City. Reprinted with permission from *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, October 13, 1944.

China, and France "in due course"—and six nonpermanent members to be elected by a General Assembly composed of all the United Nations, whose functions, as defined in the charter, will be primarily advisory. In addition, there are to be a Secretariat, an International Court of Justice, an Economic and Social Council, to consist of representatives of eighteen nations elected by the General Assembly for three years, and "such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary."

Unanswered Questions. The charter thus outlines, in skeleton form, an international organization whose very lack of elaborateness gives it a degree of flexibility which could make it adaptable to the unforeseeable eventualities of the post-war period. It makes no pretense to completeness. There are many blank spots to be filled out—of which two are most important: first, whether a permanent member will have the right to vote in cases when it is charged with having committed aggression; and, second, the agreement by which the members will specify the armed forces they will place at the disposal of the United Nations organization, and the circumstances under which their delegates on the Security Council will vote concerning the use of such forces. Both questions involve the issue of sovereignty, and can be expected to cause far-reaching discussion, especially in the United States.

The feature of the proposed organization which will concern the general public most, however, is that it could easily be transformed into a dictatorship of the four great powers which—on the plea of preserving peace—could, if they wanted to, enforce their will on weaker nations. Such a possibility is strengthened by the provisions for regional security arrangements, which each of the great powers could invoke to dictate the terms of security within adjoining areas that would then become spheres of influence under another name. Moreover, Russia's reluctance to accept a proposal that a great power charged with aggression should abstain from voting when its case is being considered by the Security Council—as suggested by China—will be interpreted by smaller nations as a portent that the great powers will consider themselves exempt from the restrictions on aggressive action which they intend to enforce on others.

These doubts and fears are well justified, and may lead many people to dismiss the Dumbarton Oaks document as mere sugar-coating for another Concert of Powers—this time not for Europe alone, as in 1815, but for the world—to be administered by methods which, for all their modern streamlining, will be those of Metternich. If we are to look at the situation without illusions, however, we must recognize that the operation of any international machinery is

may be devised will depend on the sense of responsibility of the great powers, and on their willingness to have it work not only when it is to their own advantage, but also when it is to the advantage of the international community as a whole. No blueprint, no matter how realistic, will of itself generate such spirit of collaboration. But if such spirit does exist, it can put even the most inferior machinery to work. The desire for collaboration will not be tested by the formulation of any given document or even by its acceptance on the part of any given Government. It will be tested by the measure of agreement that the United Nations will reach on controversial issues, of which that of Poland—presumably on the Churchill-Stalin Moscow agenda—is most urgent.

It may prove just as well that the United Nations charter raises no high hopes, and does not lend itself

to sentimental oratory about eternal peace. For this should make us all aware that if we, and the people of the other United Nations, do not want international organization to become merely an instrument for the selfish designs of the great powers, then we shall have to press unremittingly for altered attitudes toward relations between nations. It will depend on our concerted efforts whether the proposed organization becomes merely a military alliance, or an agency which will "facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." And we must never forget that the alternative to at least some kind of international organization, no matter how inadequate, is a policy of each one for himself and the Devil take the hindmost—whose predictable outcome is another world war.

The Use of Sovereignty

We know from bitter experience that the United States cannot survive militarily, politically or economically in the modern world without close and continuing co-operation with other peace-loving nations. . . . We should demand . . . that all the peoples of the United Nations should have a voice in the decisions which will shape the world in which they live. . . . We should advocate the use of American sovereignty in co-operation with other powers to create continuing international organization for the good of all with power to uphold its decisions by force if necessary. *For our sovereignty is something to be used, not hoarded.*

WENDELL WILLKIE.

Racial Barriers Persist

*From Civil Liberties Quarterly **

Army Balks Court Tests

Progress in the return to the Pacific Coast of loyal Japanese-Americans excluded by the military was made when Major General Bone-steel, Commander of the Pacific area, virtually mooted two cases brought in the Federal District Court at Los Angeles by giving the plaintiffs permits to return. The suits had been instituted by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Mrs. Shiramizu, widow of an American soldier killed in Italy and awarded the Purple Heart, and Masaru Baba, honorably discharged from the Army.

The third plaintiff, Dr. George Ochikubo, a dentist who offered his services to the Army immediately after Pearl Harbor and against whom the military authorities issued an individual exclusion order, will be heard in court. The Army apparently had some evidence to qualify Dr. Ochikubo's loyalty, although he had received a leave clearance attesting his loyalty from the War Relocation Authority.

As a result of the court action, the American Civil Liberties Union will file numerous other cases on behalf of loyal Japanese-Americans desiring to return, not only in the courts

in California, but in Oregon and Washington. In cases where loyal Japanese-Americans seek permits to return and are denied, suits will also be brought. The Government has declared that it will not contest the return of Japanese-Americans whose "records are cleared by the military authorities." It seems unlikely that the Government will defend on trial continued exclusion on grounds of military necessity.

Two critical cases will be argued in the Supreme Court in October, last squarely challenging both the evacuation and the detention of persons of Japanese ancestry. One affects Fred G. Korematsu of Oakland, California, ordered evacuated and the other Miss Mitsuye Endo, detained in a relocation center. The cases will be argued by San Francisco counsel. A brief in support of contentions in the Korematsu case will be filed by the American Civil Liberties Union through Attorney Charles A. Horsky, of Washington, D. C. The Supreme Court will hear before it all the issues raised by the evacuation on racial grounds of the entire population of Japanese ancestry. The only previous Supreme Court decision, in June, 1943, sustained curfew regulations based on racial grounds.

Even if the Supreme Court should

* From the issue of September, 1944. American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.

hold that the detention of American citizens without trial is unlawful, the effect would not be to break up the relocation centers but to make them voluntary places of accommodation for the evacuated. The effect, however, on the Tule Lake Center, where the so-called disloyal are held, might be considerable. There seems to be some doubt whether the Court will pass upon the present need for continuing evacuation of Japanese-Americans, since the cases could be decided otherwise.

Navy Excludes Japanese-Americans

The United States Navy remains adamant against service by Japanese-American citizens, despite the fact that the Army has admitted them in limited numbers to various branches. The Navy's position was set forth by Acting Secretary Ralph A. Bard in a letter to the Union in August, after repeated attempts to get a clear statement of policy. The late Secretary Frank Knox had stated months ago that "the rights of Japanese-Americans cannot be recognized without risk to our military operations," and went on to explain why it was impossible to include them in Naval personnel. The Union countered with the observation that the Navy also excluded from the WAVES all women of Japanese ancestry, to whom the Secretary's arguments could not possibly apply.

Acting Secretary Bard's answer

stated that Japanese-Americans could not be made eligible for any branch of Naval service because of "peculiar conditions which are encountered in present Naval warfare" and which would "make their presence troublesome in active areas of combat, such as in the Pacific."

The *Washington Post*, commenting on Mr. Bard's letter, stated: "This is a fancy way of saying that Naval authorities don't feel able to cope with the racial prejudices of the Navy's personnel. We doubt very much that the men and women of the United States Navy are as bad or bigoted as Mr. Bard thinks they are. Most of them are Americans themselves with a regard for American traditions. Many of them have ancestors of their own who more or less recently emigrated from foreign lands. They are quite capable of understanding that a man's character is not determined by the shape of his head or the color of his skin. But this understanding is not likely to be fostered by the official endorsement of racial discrimination which has come from the Acting Secretary."

The much-criticized arrangement between the Government and colleges with Army and Navy training units, under which Japanese-American students alone of all groups were required to get permits to attend, was terminated on September 4. Japanese-Americans are now as free as others to attend any such college or university.

Education for Democracy

By Grayson N. Kefauver *

Democracy is not an institution that, once established, will maintain itself and thrive of its own accord. This article holds that education in the schools must be wisely and specifically directed toward the preservation of the democratic ideal. The Church too has a responsibility for education and for Christian citizenship. In the discharge of this responsibility Church leaders will find helpful the author's suggestions of the means to this end.

OVER the years the teachers of America have been sensitive to their responsibility to train for citizenship. Universal elementary education and, more recently, universal high-school education have developed in response to a definite need.

Democracy places a heavy responsibility on the citizen, who must select the chief public servants and make decisions on general social policy. To make wise decisions requires understanding of the problems of the modern world, and these problems have become more complex and difficult with recent social changes. At a time when everyone is anxious that American democracy be conserved and improved, it is only natural that we should examine the program of public education to see whether it is doing all it can to support the democratic way of life.

Such periods of stocktaking are desirable. Sometimes, however, people's anxiety may cause them to listen more than is normal—and

more than is justifiable—to adverse criticisms of what is being done in the schools. In recent months, for example, we have heard statements that students are not learning to read, that they are not made acquainted with basic discipline, and that they are not prepared for useful labor. We have had suggestions, made in all seriousness, that the high-school curriculum should consist totally or principally of Greek, Latin, and mathematics.

These views are scarcely in accordance with the facts. Progress has been made in the teaching of reading, arithmetic, and problems of citizenship. Progress has been made in developing a high-school program adapted to the needs of adolescent youth. I do not mean to say that there are not individual teachers who are weak and ineffective or who have not adopted the improved methods and improved materials of instruction. But one should not allow individual failures to overshadow the important forward steps that have been taken.

As for the need of a program of education adapted to American

* Dean of the School of Education, Stanford University, and Educational Consultant, Department of State, Washington, D.C. Reprinted with permission from *National Parent-Teacher Magazine*, September, 1944.

democracy, I should like to emphasize the following items. We might adopt the terminology of the political arena and consider them plank in an educational platform.

I. *The nature and the meaning of democracy should be studied in school.* The long historic struggle of mankind to achieve liberty and justice should be examined. The basic documents of American government and the interpretations of political and social leaders who have spoken and written throughout our history should be analyzed. Shifts in interpretation and in emphasis should be noted, and students should become informed about the unique problems and needs of democracy at present. The general philosophy and principles must be translated into more concrete terms. Such questions as the following should be asked: What are the distinctive achievements of democracy? What should the good citizen do, or what should we do socially, to further the democratic way of life?

II. *Studying about democracy is not enough. The school should provide opportunities to practice democracy.* Verbal instruction concerning democracy will influence the behavior of youth less than will the way they live. If democracy is to be fully supported, students should be allowed to participate in operating and in evaluating the program of the school. This does not mean turning the school over to the students

and reducing the role of the teachers to one of unimportance. It means, rather, that students and teachers will proceed co-operatively, thinking together on common problems and adopting finally a plan of action that appears reasonable to all parties concerned. Increasingly, too, parents should be brought into this co-operative relationship. Students, teachers, administrators, and parents are all vitally concerned.

III. *In the study of social problems, students should have an opportunity to examine all important data and all important points of view.* It is not sound democracy to adopt a social orientation and to teach it uncritically as truth, keeping students in ignorance of other viewpoints. This is an educational technique appropriate only to a totalitarian country. Democracies are supposed to be different. The individual citizen is supposed to have the freedom and the ability to do his own thinking, to analyze different viewpoints, and to form his own judgment.

At times the democratic procedure is blocked. Those in control in a community may restrict the use of materials to the ones that are in harmony with their own social conceptions, or insist upon instruction in conformity with their feelings and judgments. When a single textbook is used or one point of view only is accepted, the democratic method is not being followed.

The behavior of the teacher is also an important factor in democratic teaching. A program of education for democracy requires judicious treatment by the teacher. A teacher who uses his position to advocate his own beliefs and secure converts to them is even more objectionable than the social group that seeks to throw out materials not in agreement with its thinking.

Many of the important social problems that should be studied in school are controversial. The conflicting materials and the conflicting ideas should be analyzed. The propaganda in support of different lines of action should be studied. And the teacher should be scholarly and accurate in his interpretation.

IV. *An adequate program of education for democracy will deal with the important social problems of this generation.* Through study of these problems, students will come to recognize their significance, develop some understanding of them, learn about various proposals for their solution, and become acquainted with the sources of information and the techniques for their analysis. Note that I do not include in the foregoing list the making of decisions. Naturally a study of any problem will cause the student to form a judgment, but the immediate conclusion about what ought to be done is not the most important outcome of such study. It is only when the student has developed an ade-

quate understanding of the problem that he can proceed toward a solution.

The most important factor threatening our retention of democracy is not the outside pressure from the totalitarian states. More powerful is the influence of unsuccessful operation of our democracy from within.

V. *Education should help youth to understand the extent of our natural resources and of our human talent and to get some vision of possibilities for future advances.* These advances should be not only material; they should also include the cultural and the spiritual. Ours is a nation of great achievements. There is much to be conserved from the accomplishments of those who have gone before. But youth should not be taught that we have fully achieved a satisfactory status in life. There is great work yet to be done. Never has there been a greater challenge to youth.

VI. *More important than any procedure or method in education for democracy is the faith of teachers and parents in democracy.* Lacking that faith, we shall lack our chief source of power for the support of democracy in the educational process. Leaders who revere the ideas and methods of democracy and have confidence in the final achievement will contribute much toward the development in the youth they teach of a similar reverence and confidence.

Navigator

This lazy prince of tennis balls and lutes,
Marvellous red-head who could eat and have his cake,
Collector of hot jazz, Japanese prints, rare books,
The charming winner who took all for the game's sake,
Is now disciplined, changed and wrung into a man.
For war's sake, in six months this can be done.

Now he is groomed and cared for like a fighting cock,
His blood enriched, his athlete's nerve refined
In crucibles of tension to be electric under shock,
His intellect composed for action and designed
To map a bomber's passage to Berlin by stars,
Precision instrument that neither doubts nor fears.

This can be done in six months. Take a marvellous boy
And knead him into manhood for destruction's joy—
This can be done in six months, but we never tried
Until we needed the lute player's sweet life blood,
Oh, the composed mind and the electric nerve
Were never trained like this to build, to love, to serve.

Look at him now, and swear by every bomb he will release
This shall be done. This shall be better done in peace.

—*May Sarton*.*

* From *The New Yorker*. Reprinted with permission.

HOW VICTORY OVER GERMANY MAY AFFECT OUR LABOR FORCE

THE SITUATION NOW

UNEMPLOYMENT IN RANGE

6 MONTHS AFTER V. G. DAY



1,000,000



5,000,000



24,700,000



WAR PRODUCTION



11,100,000



15,300,000



CIVILIAN PRODUCTION



25,800,000



9,500,000



AGRICULTURAL WORKERS



9,500,000



3,500,000



SELF-EMPLOYED



5,600,000



11,300,000



ARMED SERVICES



8,300,000

GRAPHICS INSTITUTE

THESE FIGURES TAKEN FROM OFFICIAL AND SEMIOFFICIAL SOURCES

Employment During the Transition Period

*Institute on Postwar Reconstruction **

AMERICAN citizens, through their Government, are now spending 5 billion dollars a year on the war. It is rather generally assumed that by six months after victory over Germany we shall be spending half that much on the war, or even less. That is quite a cut. It represents enough money to buy all the railroad systems in the nation, plus a dozen TVA's and a garage with a new car in it for every family. It represents enough employment to keep some 20 million workers busy at long hours and comparatively good pay. How are we to fill this gap?

To fill it is the problem of the transition period, the period when industry is shifting its gears from war to peace production, within the considerable limitations imposed by the production necessary for the war against Japan. For some industries, such as textiles and clothing, the transition will be easy and quick; others, like automobiles, refrigerators, and machine tools, will have to shut down for a few months while they reconvert; and for a few, presumably a certain percentage of shell-loading plants, for instance, it will not be transition: it will be cessation.

During this period while industry

is getting ready, there will be a slump and there will be unemployment. Just how big a slump there will be, and how much unemployment, is important to everybody, because these are the elements which open the door to full-scale depression. The pictograph on the opposite page shows first what the employment situation is now, and, second, what it might be six months after V-G Day. The latter is not a prophecy, or even an estimate. It merely helps to visualize the problem. With good fortune and good management there could be less unemployment than the indicated 5 million six months after V-G Day; on the other hand ill fortune and bad management could easily result in much more unemployment, and we might end up by finding ourselves sitting down at table not with Prosperity but with our old enemy Depression. That is why the transition period is so important.

There are factors that will be helpful in winning through the transition period to prosperity, and there are factors that will not be helpful.

Important Hurdles

1. Jobs must be found for about 20 million war workers and 3 million released servicemen. While they are looking for work, or waiting for

(Continued on page 28)

* From October, 1944, Bulletin of the Institute on Postwar Reconstruction, New York University. Used with permission.

The Christian Church and Dumbarton Oaks

The result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is the greatest call in modern times to the Christian Church to rise to its full stature as a spiritual power throughout the world and nations. It is true that there is no such thought expressed in the document itself; nor have we any way of knowing that this was in the minds of those who prepared it. But the statement still holds. Never in all history has there been an undertaking on so vast a scale that depends so completely on the co-operative spirit. The failure of that spirit at this point would be the forerunner of a global catastrophe.

The need for the co-operative spirit is crucial at two points in the Dumbarton proposal for a charter for the continuing United Nations: First, it depends upon the co-operative spirit between the five great powers of the Security Council and particularly the United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia. If co-operation fails here, the entire plan fails. Secondly, the Dumbarton Oaks proposal depends upon the co-operative spirit between these great powers on the one hand and the more than sixty smaller nations on the other. If the United Nations become a grand coalition of military might used to freeze the *status quo* that favors these few nations, then, as history makes clear, the consequences will be resentment, protest, and violence.

But whence comes this co-operative spirit, apart from which this charter of the United Nations is doomed? It is not inherent in or generated by blueprints or social machinery. The co-operative spirit will be present only to the extent that it dominates those who use these agreements for joint action. If public opinion and the leaders of the United States of America and Great Britain and Soviet Russia put the wisdom and the will to co-operate into the use of the United Nations organization, then its promise for good will be fulfilled. But it is the spirit of the people that is decisive and not the letter of the plan.

But whence comes the wisdom and the will to co-operate? It is potential within man, put there by the Creator, who "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." It must be touched by the Spirit if it is to spring into life and power. For as Jacques Maritain writes, "Brotherly love is, as the Christian well knows, God's own charity diffused into the hearts of men."

A vital and inevitable question at this point is this: Is the proposal

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United Nations organization inherently more of a liability than an asset to the release of the co-operative spirit? Indeed, should it not perhaps be repudiated in the very name of the co-operative spirit? The report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action as adopted by the 156th General Assembly in May, 1944, declares: "It is the obligation of Christian statesmen and citizens to work for decisions regarding international problems as based upon Christian principles. . . . Christians must measure their support in accordance with the degree in which these embody Christian principles." Certainly in the light of Christian principles, the United Nations Charter arouses misgiving of a serious character.

It was to be expected that the United Nations Charter would be imperfect. "The decisions that will be made in the course of peace settlement," General Assembly further declared, "will have been reached in the light of differences of approach, occasioned by national background, tradition, and interest. They will be made by men and women who are human in their understanding and vision. We of this nation as well as those of other nations will be part of these differences and of this human frailty. Therefore, we must not expect solutions which will completely fulfill our present hopes. . . . We must view all these decisions as necessarily partial and imperfect and seek their progressive modification within the spirit and institution of world co-operation. This calls for perseverance, patience, and loyal effort on the part of individual citizens."

The starting point of our thinking about the Dumbarton Oaks Report may be put quite simply: It expresses the resolve of the United Nations to continue their relationship on into the peace and is the maximum agreement at this time concerning the pattern of that relationship. It calls for the support of those who believe that the nations must move toward international co-operation and organization as against international anarchy. But such support should be joined with the recognition of the need for profound and continuing changes. There is pressing need for public discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Report, full understanding of its implications and expression of support, *now*, before it is finally adopted by a full meeting of the United Nations. When so adopted, it will come before American public opinion and the American Senate for debate and decision.

For us as Christians, the beginning is to know what the United Nations Charter as proposed is, and to begin to evaluate our attitude and response to it in the light of the principles of our faith.

Peace—with Justice

*By the Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States **

DURING the recent talks at Dumbarton Oaks, there was a member of the British Delegation who never appeared in any of the photographs and took no active part in any of the discussions. I am not sure that many people really knew he was there.

He was stout and plainly dressed and somewhat past middle age. He made no great attempt to force himself upon the company's attention; but in spite of his unobtrusive ways, he was, I think, quite an important person. He had turned his mind to the problems which were being debated at Dumbarton Oaks many years before any of the other representatives had thought of paying any attention to them.

His name, as I expect you have guessed, was William Penn. And the suggestion I have made ceases to be entirely fanciful when we remember that so much of what is passing through men's minds today in their pursuit of peace was in his mind 250 years ago, when he wrote his "Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe."

Peace—God's World Plan

We shall not find it easy to understand William Penn's thoughts on

peace unless we know a little of their background. That was essentially religious, for Penn was a Quaker. He believed war to be wrong. That is to say, he resisted war not because it was expensive in human life, or because it brought with it a great deal of suffering to innocent people, or even because it often degraded those who engaged in it. It had all these results, but Penn believed war to be wrong primarily because he saw it as something incompatible with a Society which tried to follow the teaching of Christ.

Of this incompatibility even Christ himself was acutely conscious. For in one aspect, and that the most obvious, war seemed plainly to ignore the command to make love of our fellow men a foundation of the Christian life only second in importance to the love of God.

Yet the very breadth of the injunction to love our fellow men forbids us to interpret it too narrowly. Few who have read and pondered either the philosophy or the actions of those against whom we now wage war can doubt the rightness of resistance to protect the world from such long degradation as the victory of our enemies would have involved. The conclusion surely is that in an imperfect world war is sometimes the

* A condensation of an address made at a meeting in celebration of the William Penn Tercentenary, Philadelphia, October 24, 1944.

nesser of two evils. In trying to satisfy one condition of a Christian society, we must not sacrifice another of more vital consequence.

Conditions of Peace

But there is one great truth which certainly emerges from Penn's thought, and it is one which, if we are to guard ourselves against bitter disappointment, we must keep clearly before our minds. There is a wrong and there is a right way of approaching the problem of peace. The wrong way is to regard it as an aim, single and sufficient in itself; to look on peace merely as the absence of war; to suppose that when we have set up the necessary machinery, and disarmed anyone who might commit a breach of the peace, we have done all that is required. In all spheres of life, public and private, such limitation is apt to breed failure and disappointment. With all respect to those who may take a different view, I suggest that the right way to serve the cause of peace is to see it ever against the larger background of human life, in all its various aspects, some good, some bad, and to regard it as part of a pattern we seek to draw for society as a whole.

Penn was, so it seems to me, acutely conscious of two worlds; the City of God, "an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," and the "City of Confusion," which was man's pitiful attempt to order

the world about him. His two worlds are in fact the projection onto a large screen of that which every one of us knows to be the double element in his own life: a body, subject to physical laws and judged remarkable if it lasts for a hundred years, and a spirit or soul for which Christianity, along with other great religions, claims immortality.

The task of the Christian in daily life must always be to make a true adjustment of these two parts of his own being. So also must he try to bring the visible world, comprising every side of human relations, into more faithful conformity with the other world which is unseen. That is the purpose of his daily prayer that God's Kingdom may come and his will be done on earth as in heaven.

If he accepts this obligation, the new order that he must try to build must be securely founded upon justice. For it is the sense of justice, perhaps more than anything else, which raises humanity above the habit of the jungle. Justice is, therefore, the first element of any durable human order.

It follows that between nations peace can never be merely the absence of war, for there can be no true peace unless justice is also present. Thus, for five years there was absence of war from Poland. For four years there was no war in occupied Europe. But the "peace" of Poland and of occupied Europe was the

(Continued on page 26)

Pre-Lenten Local Church Study Period

THE World Order Movement is the carrying forward of a call from the General Assembly of May, 1944. It is supported by the Board of Christian Education, the Board of National Missions, The Board of Foreign Missions. It is a part of the program of the National Council of Presbyterian Women. Of particular importance is this fact: the World Order Movement is the Christian Outreach Program of Spiritual Advance.

The World Order Movement enters its third and all-important phase with the four weeks' study period within each local Church, beginning January 14. The large and the small, the urban and the rural, Churches have in this program a common stake and a common opportunity to serve Christ and his Kingdom.

Getting Started

Where it has not already been done the session should consider how its Church may best share in the World Order Workshop. Better yet, this might be considered in a meeting of all the official boards of the Church—the session, the deacons, and the trustees. In any case, a special leadership committee should be constituted to act as a spearhead for the program.

Who Should Be on This Committee

Certainly: (1) the leaders of the several Church organizations; (2) those from the congregation who have a special interest or competence in the theme on world order; (3) those who attended one of the World Order Conferences. In keeping with the recognition of the authority of the laymen throughout the World Order Movement, if possible the chairman should be a layman.

Setting Up the Program

When should the series of four meetings be held? Two choices are open. The first

is to set up the World Order Workshop as a special short-term series at a time on one side and in addition to any regular program of meetings. The alternative is to give over meetings, such as the Sunday evening service or the mid-week service, to the program of the World Order Workshop. If this latter course is chosen, care should be exercised to have it presented in advance as something to which all the congregation is expected to come, over and above those members who form the usual attendance at this time.

What Shall Be the Program?

The leader's guide for the course, entitled *The Cost of World Order*, available free, may be used in either of two ways.

A. If possible the evening might begin with a Church Night Dinner. If this is impractical for the full four weeks, it could be provided on the first and fourth nights.

The World Order Workshop period could be divided as follows:

1. A presentation by some speaker, particularly competent on the theme for each evening. Opening with a brief period of worship, this part of the program should take twenty-five minutes.

2. The group would then be divided arbitrarily into equal-sized classes to study simultaneously the topic of each evening as found in the leader's guide. Fifteen minutes should be given to this.

3. The group would be brought together again for a closing ten minutes emphasizing Christian action.

B. An alternative is to build the entire hour and a half closely around the program of the study course, which lends itself admirably to this purpose.

Promotion

A. At an early moment the Special Leadership Committee should meet with

all those in the Church whose support and interest is needed: all the Church officials, all the leaders of the Church groups, and, in addition, specially invited individual members of the congregation. The plans which the committee has in the making for the World Order Workshop should be reviewed, suggestions should be invited, and support called for in definite ways.

B. Provision for full publicity.

This should include announcements in the Church services, presentation before each Church group, personal solicitation of church families and individual members.

C. Each of the four meetings of the World Order Workshop should feature the interest and support of certain groups. The following are by way of example:

First night—the parents and relatives of the men and women in military service from the congregation.

Second night—the young people of the church.

Third night—the leaders of the civic life of the community.

Fourth night—the official boards of the church.

The Leaders

It is strongly urged that one person carry through the entire period, bringing in, if and as needed, persons to help at particular points in the program. This leader should be given the leader's guide and Paul Hutchinson's book, *From Victory to Peace*, and other needed materials suggested in the guide.

Careful thought should be given to the choice of the speakers for each evening, if this setup is to be followed. A conference could be had with each speaker to assure his understanding of the objective in mind and his place in the study and discussion of the evening.

It is desirable to have a layman as the presiding officer of each period.

Literature

The World Order Movement is essentially a campaign of education that issues

in action. An indispensable aid toward this objective is wide reading on the subject promoted by the Special Leadership Committee. Suggested activities include:

1. Paul Hutchinson's book, *From Victory to Peace*, the key book of the World Order Movement, is available in a special edition at sixty cents. It should be read by at least one person in every Church group, and prominently displayed and promoted during the World Order Workshop.

2. The Literature Committee should be familiar with the other materials of the World Order Movement. Order these from any Presbyterian Book Store.

3. The community library should be consulted for additional books on the subject. A suggested bibliography will be found in the leader's guide. This list can be supplemented by the librarian, and a loan of books may be secured for exhibit at the World Order Workshop.

Conclusion

The above are methods and techniques without which a World Order Workshop program will be ineffective. But of primary importance is the conviction and vision which the leaders of each local Church have toward their responsibility. As each Church girds itself to prepare its members for their major contribution as Christians toward establishing the post-war world upon Christian principles, it will be finding, while it is expressing it, new spiritual power. This is a task which calls for dedication. The ceiling of its expectations should be as inclusive as the membership of the Church itself. It should be carried on with a sense of urgency in the light of the world's need for the resources of God. Let this not be undertaken as just another program whose response will be by a few already concerned. Let this program instead be viewed in the light of its timeliness and as something which, if effectively presented, will find a response by the entire membership.

Sanctuary

Christmas—1944

*"O star of wonder, star of night,
Star with royal beauty bright,
Westward leading, still proceeding,
Guide us to thy perfect Light."*

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end . . . to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever. [Isa. 9: 6, 7.]

Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in justice.

Then justice shall dwell in the wilderness; and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence for ever. [Isa. 32: 16, 17.] For thus said the Lord Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength. [Isa. 30: 15.]

And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying,

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased.

[Luke 2: 13, 14.]

And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men.

[Luke 2:52.]

Then said Jesus . . . , whosoever would save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it. [Matt. 16: 24, 25.] He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. . . . I am in the midst of you as he that serveth. [Luke 22: 26, 27.]

Prayer:

Eternal God, who hast revealed thy purpose in the Holy Child of Bethlehem born under the shadow of the cross, open our hearts to the joy of his coming. Deliver us from doubts and fears through faith in him who is our ultimate victor. Where there is hate renew in us the spirit of good will. May we welcome the Great Guest, who maketh all things new. Pour out thy Spirit upon all mankind, and grant that this Christmas may bring us nearer to a world ordered thy will which will be our peace.

Regard all thy children, O Heart of Love, in their need, and lead us in the way everlasting. Amen.

A Christmas Pageant*

CHARACTERS:

Mary, Mother of Jesus
Crime (man in chains)
Greed (miser, clutching money bags)
Disease (a cripple)
Disease (blind man)
War (personified by Roman soldier)
Cruelty (Roman slave driver)
Poverty (beggar)
Reader No. 1
Reader No. 2

(The stable stands center front on an elevated platform, several steps leading upward. In the stable MARY is seated beside the manger. A low screen is placed behind MARY. ANGEL CHORUS, back stage, stands behind a gauze curtain and a heavy drop curtain. *Silent Night! Holy Night!* is played softly as an accompaniment to readings. Curtain rises slowly as reading begins):

READER NO. 1: Christmas story, from Luke.

MARY (*sings*): "A Mother's Lullaby," by C. Austin Miles.

READER NO. 1: It came to pass in those days that there dwelt near the City of David one who had committed many wrongs. And, behold, when he had heard that a king was born, he arose and straightway went unto Bethlehem of Judea. (*Enter CRIME. Advances; mounts steps; kneels on top level in attitude of penitence.*)

READER NO. 2: Cleanse thou me from my wrongdoings.

READER NO. 1: Lo, a certain rich man had gained the whole world and in the seeking lost his soul; hearing the story he too made haste unto Bethlehem to see the Child. (*Enter GREED. Approaches manger; pauses on top step, head bowed.*)

READER NO. 2: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

READER NO. 1: And the word was brought unto him that was a cripple, and also unto him that was blind. They likewise journeyed to Bethlehem in search of the Babe. (*Enter CRIPPLE, followed by BLIND MAN. They advance toward manger, then, with head bowed, stand on second step.*)

READER NO. 2: "Bless the Lord . . . and forget not all of his benefits: who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases."

READER NO. 1: Even the Roman soldier unto whom the story was told turned toward Bethlehem and followed the light of the star to the manger. (*Enter SOLDIER; stands with bowed head, below others.*)

* Presented annually on the campus of the Peru State Teachers College, Nebraska. From the *Intercollegian*.

READER NO. 2: Ye have heard it said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth
But the Word of God commands you to love your enemies, to bless them that curse you
and to do good unto them that hate you.

READER NO. 1. And when the message came unto a certain Roman slave driver he
sought the Child. (*Enter SLAVE DRIVER. Passes to position opposite ROMAN SOLDIER.*)

READER NO. 2: There is no respect of persons in My sight. Those who do my
will are the same as brother to brother.

READER NO. 1: Unto a certain beggar was brought the glad tidings of the Ba
wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger. He straightway departed to find
the Child. (*Enter BEGGAR, taking position below last two characters.*)

READER NO. 2: Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the Kingdom of God. (*EVILS drop
burdens and become whole; each straightens up as with renewed life. Lighting changes
from blue to yellow. Characters, except MARY, come down from steps leading to the
manger and group themselves in a semicircle at side of the elevated platform.*)

READER NO. 2 (*as characters leave steps*):

*We bring our load to the manger,
Our burden of hate and strife,
Our weakness, our secret longing,
The needs of our human life.*

*In darkness we come to the manger,
Our hearts are bowed down with care,
The burden seems much too heavy
That we are called to bear.*

*At the manger our load is lifted,
The strife and hate flee away
And we who have groped in blindness,
Receive our new sight today.*

(*Heavy curtain at back of stage is drawn, revealing ANGEL CHORUS behind gauze
curtain.*)

ANGEL CHORUS (*sings*): "Joy to the World! the Lord Is Come," "Hark! the Herald
Angels Sing," "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear," "The First Nowell the Angel Did
Say."

(*Music of "The First Nowell the Angel Did Say" continues; the chorus hums during the
benediction.*)

READER NO. 1:

*"The Lord bless thee, and keep thee:
The Lord make his face shine upon thee,
And be gracious unto thee:
The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee,
And give thee peace."*

(*Music continues as the people leave.*)

Christian Principle and Social Structure

(Continued from page 4)

II. Christian Social Principles

1. *Order in the economic and political realm depends upon the obedience to the order of the Spirit.*

The primary requisite for the ordering of social existence is not wider scientific knowledge, but the discipline of human affections by the love of God. Christian order is pivoted upon Christian motivation and not upon just scientific genius and decisions upon purely technical issues for only technical ends. "Seek ye first the kingdom rule of God, and his righteousness; and all these things"—bread and butter, wages, real estate, et cetera—shall be ours in their rightful place." This Biblical word is plain. The primary principle for Christians is that unless the authentic end of man, i.e., his vocation as a child of the Spirit living an existence-in-responsibility—unless this end and purpose is dominant there can be no escape from anarchic individualism. The will to live under the limitations which the Holy Spirit places upon man's undisciplined desires—this earnest and practical quest for the righteousness of God is alone the foundation of mutuality and peace, order and harmony in society.

2. *All economic, political, and social action is meant to be instrumental to the spiritual end of man.*

If the spiritual end of man is primary, then it follows that all the economic and political enterprises cannot be autonomous. All economic and social factors are a means to effect the satisfaction of the real man or the spiritual man who is created for the love of God and to be the free son of the Spirit. From this it follows that all economic action takes place for the satisfaction of man considered as creature intended for the vision of God. All human activity to get the *means* to

live must be instrumental to and governed by man's spiritual end, i.e., the *meaning* of living or his vocation as God's son. It also follows that man's social situation, be he prince or working man, is never more than a mode of expressing an assured spiritual status common to all men within the Kingdom of God.

To state this principle is to see how inverted our civilization has become. Man has become the servant of a finance economy, and dividends rather than the spiritual end of man is the regulative force in social action. Our task is to discover, under modern conditions, the social and economic means of expressing man's spiritual status where the whole economic enterprise can be man's servant for godly ends and not his master for materialistic ends.

3. *The Church's social task is to proclaim these principles and to energize its members to embody them in their responsibility as citizens of Caesar's realm.*

The Church is the conscience of society, and no area of human endeavor falls rightly outside the scope of its responsibility and influence. The Church is the medium through which the power of the Spirit enters the stream of social life. This being so, the Christian fellowship must be at work helping to fashion for Christian ends the features of the civilization of each particular moment. Christian social action is no intruding alien. It is rather the wholesome recognition by the Church that man's spiritual health is predicated not simply upon the individual will to agree with the divine intention, but also upon the Christianization of those social forces of political structure and economic custom which can be modified most effectively when evil, and encouraged when good, by the organized unity of the Christian Church working through its members.

Only so can man fulfill the injunction, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself."

Peace—with Justice

(Continued from page 19)

peace of a concentration camp, and its purveyors have been the uniformed murderers of the Gestapo.

If in 1940 the Nazis had broken the resistance of Britain, there might have been this sort of "peace" in the world; but there would have been no sort of justice. When, therefore, we pray for the peace of Jerusalem, we do not desire merely that there should be no fighting in her streets. We are praying for the presence of that quality of justice which ensures peace, and which, above all others, distinguishes a society that accepts the moral law from a society that repudiates it.

To the extent to which we can be successful in creating such a society, it would be true to say that we need not directly concern ourselves with peace. For we shall surely have it, and much else that we desire, just because we shall have established the conditions that are indispensable. So true it is that we must seek first the Kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and then all these things shall be added unto us.

Justice—Established in Law

But justice will not flourish, any more than a garden plant, unless we give it what is needed for its health and growth. We know what has been the development of law in national life. When a man could only obtain his personal rights by fighting for them, he fought. But the law, when and where it was established, gave him a more sure and convenient remedy. It secured that in any dispute the verdict went not to the man who had the greater strength but to the man who had the greater right.

The more just and strong the law, the less likelihood there was of a good citizen's wishing or trying to take it into his own hands. But if it became corrupt or feeble, one of two things would happen. Either

lawlessness would resume its rule or, in our own time we have seen in Germany and Italy, the law would be perverted to the unscrupulous ends of wicked men. It would become a weapon in the hands of the strong, and a terror, not to the evildoer, but to the weak; and justice would take wing.

It is perhaps a fair criticism of us that for one reason or another in the years following 1918 we placed the claim of what we thought was peace above the claims of what we knew was justice. That was, as we see now, to misunderstand the real character of peace; and it was only when the world was faced with all the implications of the Nazi creed that we woke up to the truth.

What then is vital in any international order we may try to establish when the war is over is that it should represent justice. But it must be justice so armed as to be beyond challenge, for if law loses its virtue when it ceases to be just, it loses its practical authority when it ceases to be strong. Weak justice is powerless against the forces that reject its right of audience. In the words of the great French thinker Pascal: "Justice without power is unavailing; power without justice is tyrannical. We must therefore combine justice and power, making what is just strong, and what is strong just."

But more is meant by justice than fair dealing between nations. That is one part of the pattern we seek to follow. Another and as necessary a part is fair dealing within nations. The two are really indivisible, as is justice.

Each country has its own domestic problems. Each country must find its own solutions for them. In Britain, when we look back to the days before the war, we are all conscious of internal flaws in the structure of our society, and it is in the hope of ending some of these that our Government has made its recent proposals for social security, based very largely upon Sir William Beveridge's Report.

That men, through no fault of their own, should have been allowed to drift for months and even years on a hopeless sea of unemployment; that they should be badly housed or underfed, or come at last to an old age of poverty and neglect—these, where they existed, were some of the human ills which tainted the life of our land. They showed the presence of injustice within a nation between man and man, just as war, or the threat of war, has shown the presence of injustice or evil, disturbing the harmony of nations. Though we may not always trace the exact sequence of events, we must assume that, as Plato taught that virtue is one, so the several forms of injustice are all related to one another. The will of a nation is the collective will of the individuals that compose it. Penn saw this clearly enough. "Let men be good," he wrote, "and the government cannot be bad. If men be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn."

These are wise words, and it follows that if justice is denied by individuals, we can hardly expect it to be constantly affirmed by the nation, and if it is denied in dealings between men, it will not be affirmed in dealings between nations. A multitude of little wrongs by inconspicuous men and women may pave the approach to some crowning infamy which spells a people's doom.

Some Conclusions

Let me sum up the conclusions which I have tried to suggest: The first is that if we are to "seek peace, and pursue it," we must see it as part of a pattern, reflecting the order of God's Kingdom and expressing God's purpose for the world. The second is that the warp and woof of that pattern is justice, without which it will be unsubstantial stuff and, when the strain comes, will crumble into fragments. The third is that justice is something indivis-

ible and invariable. It is the concern everywhere and at all times of nations and of men.

It might be argued that by accepting these conclusions, we would be binding ourselves to be crusading against injustice, always and everywhere, and that this is not practical politics. It is certainly true that no man, and no nation, can be expected to take individual action in all cases of alleged injustice. But it is also true that what one nation, acting by itself, neither can nor should be asked to perform will often lie within the collective competence of the peace-loving peoples of the world. And, therefore, the argument is largely one to reinforce the necessity for co-operation, for justice between nations of all peoples who have learned, at bitter cost, that they can never be indifferent to events, however apparently remote, which may threaten world peace and, with that, their own.

Today, we have such an opportunity as rarely occurs in history to achieve that co-operation. But success will depend far less upon the perfection of the machinery we may set up than the continued resolution of ordinary men and women.

For this reason, the doctrine that emerges from these conclusions becomes a good deal more than a directive for our statesmen. Rather should it be a rule of life for every citizen, for only so may they hope to achieve the larger purpose in the lives of nations.

As and when the fighting stops, we shall find ourselves under tests, more searching in some ways perhaps even than those of war. And we may well remember some other words of William Penn. "If we would amend the world," he wrote, "we should mend ourselves, and teach our children to be, not what *we* are, but what *they* should be."

In that spirit of resolution, let us go forward with hope, humility, and faith to meet the calls that the future will make upon us all.

Employment During the Transition Period

(Continued from page 15)

industries to reconvert, should they and their families spend their savings on food and shelter, or should the Government by widespread unemployment compensation measures help them to reserve part of their savings to buy products and thus contribute to employment? Most economists believe the latter to be the wiser course, which is why they favored the more adequate provisions of the defeated Kilgore Bill over the less adequate provisions of the George Bill.

2. There is a tendency for different groups—business, industry, labor, agriculture—and different sections of the country, to fight each other and put pressure on the Government for special advantages, rather than make the reasonable concessions necessary to co-operate and work together for the general interest.

3. It takes time first to make blueprints, then to reconvert or build new facilities, and finally to put them into operation. This is as true of public-works projects as it is of private projects, and the more time consumed, the more unemployment there will be, along with more depletion of savings which might otherwise be used to support production. Both the Government and private enterprise seem to have delayed too long in making their blueprints.

4. There is danger of inflation. If the income of one large group goes up, prices will follow, thereby lowering the real income of the other groups and decreasing the value of the savings of all.

Helpful Factors

1. While all of us want the Japanese war to end quickly, economically speaking, the interim between V-G Day and V-J Day will give us an opportunity to taper off war production gradually, and to build the transition bridge to peacetime production. Sudden and complete termina-

tion of war production now would economically disastrous.

2. We have an enormous volume of individual savings, estimated at more than 90 billion dollars, much of which can be used for investment in the production of goods for which there has been built up by scarcity a keen demand. The tax and fiscal system must be adapted to encourage this investment in every possible way.

3. While the tendency toward sectional and group fighting for special advantages is strong it may be assumed that we have learned something from the lesson of despair taught by the depression followed by the lesson of co-operation taught by the war. At any rate, the determination to reach high levels of production and employment gets priority from all responsible spokesmen in government, business, labor and agriculture.

4. Other helpful factors are: the vast Government and private programs for the re-employment of ex-servicemen and ex-war workers, the probable extension of social security coverage, the educational and inspirational activities of such organizations as the Committee for Economic Development, and the industrial know-how and creative ingenuity exhibited during the war which should materially shorten the transition period.

Taking all these factors together, both the helpful and the unhelpful, it would seem fairly certain that while we will meet many of our opportunities, we are in a strong enough economic position to pass through the transition period by middle-of-the-road policies without spiraling into a prolonged depression. Whether this will continue to be the case after production has caught up with deferred demand, and in five or six years from now, is another matter. The transition period will be one of stress and uncertainty for everyone of us, and it will go far toward setting the tone of the long-run reconstruction period to follow. Then we shall eat the fruit of the tree we are planting today.

The Workshop

The Covenant Peace Conference.

This conference was convened by the Church of the Covenant in Erie, Pennsylvania, an acknowledgment of the obligation of its members to be informed and actively concerned in the matter of the establishment of world order. The conference convened from 12:00 noon to 1:00 P.M. on nine consecutive Sundays for a 30-minute presentation, followed by a 20-minute discussion of the bases of the coming peace, the problems of postwar adjustments and of world organization for world order. The speakers, recognized authorities in their fields, presented the following difficult and varied problems and issues:

- Human Needs in the Postwar World.
- Political Bases for a Durable Peace.
- Oppressed Peoples in the Postwar World.
- The Church and Religious Freedom.
- Social Justice in the Postwar World.
- The Responsibility of Labor in the Postwar World.
- The Place of Education in the Postwar World.
- A Pattern for International Justice.
- The Church's Responsibilities in the Postwar World.

*Reported by
Ralph C. McAfee, Minister.*

The Afro-American Presbyterian Council.

Following are resolutions adopted by the Afro-American Council, a fellowship of Negro pastors and communicants in the Presbyterian Churches of the North and West, at its meeting in Philadelphia on Friday, October 13, 1944:

To Mrs. Wendell Willkie:

The officers and members of the Afro-American Presbyterian Council, representing all the Negro Presbyterian Churches of the North and West, meet-

ing in their 50th annual anniversary session, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, extend to you and your family our heartfelt sympathy on the loss of your distinguished husband, Wendell Willkie. His death is a great calamity to America in this hour of national crisis. He was dear to the hearts of millions of American Negro citizens as a forthright champion of their rights. Be assured that his passing is greatly felt not only by those of us assembled here but also by the Presbyterian Church in which he was a loyal member.

RESOLVED:

That the Council urge our Churches and seminaries to encourage their members to petition and communicate with their representatives and Federal, state, and city Governments upon all measures of moral and social significance and that the Social Action Committee of the Council be instructed to keep the Churches alert on measures pending in the Federal Government since the national legislative body is increasingly legislating for the nation as a whole in matters of social concern.

That we reaffirm the historic Westminster principle that "God alone is Lord of the conscience." Consequently we believe that no organization, whether secular or religious, has a right to bridle not only its members but also its employees as well, in the exercise of the freedom of speech or the making of public pronouncements on social and political questions as their light and social conscience give them guidance.

That the Council urge upon our Churches the setting up of social action committees as an integral part of the Church's structure in order that: (1) they more effectively co-operate with the Social Action Committee of the Presbyterian Church; (2) they more effectively become articulate on social problems before the community, the state, and the nation; (3) they may more effectively bring the in-

fluence of religion to bear on the nefarious practices which impede the coming of the Kingdom.

That the Council commend the President and the Secretary of War in the steps they have made to eliminate segregation in the rehabilitation of wounded men and in the post exchanges. That it further make known that it recognizes that these steps, though small, are indications of justice, but that it is uncompromisingly opposed to any and all forms of segregation in the armed forces.

That the Council urge upon our Churches that they co-operate fully with the World Order Program instituted by the 156th General Assembly.

An Adventure in Fellowship. Presbyterian young people's groups are invited to join an adventure in interracial and intercultural relationships sponsored by the Department of Social Education and Action and the Department of Summer Conferences of the Board of Christian Education in co-operation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Those who accept this invitation may receive \$30 toward sending delegates to 1945 summer conferences and related enterprises.

An award of \$30 will be made to each of the five Westminster Fellowship groups who, by May 1, 1945, have reported the most stimulating and challenging interracial and intercultural "adventures." Each group adventure must include at least three events, carried out within a month's time. It is suggested that they may be planned as a part of the observance of Brotherhood Month in February or of the WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT in which every Presbyterian Church is urged to participate during the month from January 15 to February 15.

Any group of seniors or young people (ages 15 to 23) within a local Presbyterian (U.S.A.) Church is eligible. In small Churches which may have no organized youth groups, four or five young

people may initiate and sponsor projects through which they may qualify for awards. The general background and problems of the area will be considered in evaluating projects reported, and young people in all parts of the country are urged to participate whether or not they live in storm centers of interracial or interfaith tension.

For details of the contest and for background material on interracial and intercultural relations write to the DIRECTOR OF SUMMER CONFERENCES, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Common Ground. The Interracial Fellowship of Long Branch, New Jersey, is a community interdenominational group. The following Statement of Aims, which appeared in the September, 1944, *New Letter*, published by the Fellowship, is suggestive:

The Aims of the Fellowship. Believing that Long Branch because of its diversity offers a unique opportunity for fellowship and understanding between minority and majority groups:

WE PROPOSE the establishment of a fellowship group among whites and Negro Christians and Jews, for the following purposes:

1. To furnish opportunities of fellowship within the group in order to create better understanding through personal contacts.
2. To become a clearinghouse to which points of tension and discrimination against minority groups may be brought.
3. To discover ways and means where discriminations and points of tension may be corrected before they become too serious.
4. To bring pressure to bear on those responsible for situations where tensions and discriminations are discovered, and thus find proper solutions.
5. To foster and support any movement which seek to create a wholesome and understanding life among all groups in Long Branch.

About Books

Christianity and Democracy, by Jacques Maritain. Scribners. \$1.25.

An excellent little book by a noted lay Catholic philosopher, this volume is stimulating reading. It ought to be on the reading list of any Churchman, lay or ministerial, who expects to take an active part in the Presbyterian Church World Order Movement. Written by a very competent thinker, it deals with essentials, faces reality, and strikes a note of high hope: "Hope is not only more reasonable than any definite prejudice of optimism or pessimism; it is also a spiritual weapon as necessary a dynamic agent of effective transformation in victory as material weapons and munitions."

The thesis of the book, abundantly supported by cogent reasoning, is: "If the democracies are to win the peace after having won the war, it will be on condition that the Christian inspiration and the democratic inspiration recognize each other and become reconciled."

In the chapter, "Evangelical Inspiration and the Secular Conscience," there is a logical, gripping, brief presentation of one aspect of Jesus' promise to his followers: "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." Professor Maritain, speaking on "The Hidden Work of Evangelical Inspiration" and the resulting secular conscience, gives a splendid account of the work of the Holy Spirit through agencies other than the Church.

He puts the challenge squarely up to any who would bring in a new and better world order. "To call for justice and law in politics is to call for a great revolution which will substitute for the power politics of the masters, men, statesmen, or nations, politics of the common good over which the people themselves must watch as the chief interested party."

Professor Maritain has little good to say

of any attempt to maintain democracy without recognizing "that the democratic impulse burst forth in history as a temporal manifestation of the inspiration of the Gospel." Any who would ignore this truth are to him like those pretending to "put out the stars" in the name of science.

Every chapter has a contribution to the sound basis which must support our Church's World Order Movement. The book is most timely for this Church-wide campaign.

J. C. W.

A Durable Peace in Europe, by William Henry Chamberlin.

A Durable Peace in Eastern Asia, by Willis Lamott.

Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, New York. 20 cents each; 25 copies, 15 cents each.

These two 80-page books of the "Headline" type have been issued recently for the use of groups desirous of studying the terms of the peace settlement and their effect on the world organization which may be established. The first was prepared by William Henry Chamberlin, the well-known writer who, for many years, was a correspondent in Russia, Japan, and Germany. Its counterpart, *A Durable Peace in Eastern Asia*, was written by Willis Lamott, author of several books on Japan, and a staff member of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

In each book the issues involved in any peace settlement are analyzed and alternative solutions are suggested. In addition each pamphlet contains an outline for a study course, suggestions for the settlement of peace in Europe and East Asia prepared by Christian leaders, and a short but good working bibliography.

E. G. R.

Frontiers of American Culture: A Study of Adult Education in a Democracy, by James Truslow Adams. Scribners. \$2.50.

Education for American Democracy, by James L. Mursell. Norton. \$3.75.

Both of these books belong in the category of "required reading" for the Churchman who would orient himself with respect to the much-discussed problems of the relationship of education and American democracy. Mr. Adams wrote his book at the request of the American Association for Adult Education for an appraisal of the movement by an author who possessed no professional or technical knowledge of the subject. He is eminently well fitted to perform such an assignment, although from a perusal of his book, one cannot avoid the conviction that, consciously or unconsciously, he is an adult educator himself. The historical chapters are of great value, but it seems to the reviewer that adequate attention is not paid to the Sunday School movement, Chautauqua, the Missionary Education Movement, and similar pioneering activities of the Church in this field.

Special interest attaches to the author's treatment of Government-inspired efforts, the use of such media as radio and the films, and his conclusion on adult education after the war. His thesis is based on the conviction that adult education is not for the illiterate or non-English-speaking "foreigner" only, but for all Americans.

With respect to postwar problems the author adds the word of caution that if returned service men and women are to respond to adult education, it must be *adult*. This is true in the wider field, and specially pertinent to attempts made in Church circles. This reviewer would add that it must be not only *adult* but *masculine* if it meets our outstanding need.

Dr. Mursell, in *Education for American Democracy*, presents a survey of Amer-

ican education, which he calls the "finest major experiment in organizing a complete system of schools in a democratic society," a complete break from the established tradition. After dealing with the evolution of the American educational system, the author discusses human problems and problems of operation and their American solution and concludes with a thoughtful chapter on "The Teaching Profession in America." Although the book is not written in as brilliant style as that of Dr. Adams, an attempt is made to keep the argument nontechnical. The discussion of evaluation and guidance alone is one that every Christian worker needs. W. C. L.

The Green Years, by A. J. Cronin. Little, Brown. \$2.50.

All that has gone into making Dr. Cronin an exceptional novelist is to be found in *The Green Years*—his keen insight into human frailties and emotion, his deep understanding of the passions that motivate people to do the things they do, his unique ability to weave a worthwhile story out of the simple elements of life. *The Green Years* uncovers a segment of life as highly dramatic as anything that Dr. Cronin has hitherto pictured. Filled with extraordinary movement and fluid in continuity, it is the narrative of a sensitive and conscientious lad, Robert Shannon, fighting against staggering odds to save his own soul. Of special interest to readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will be the vivid portrayal of the religious bigotry of the small town in which Robert grew up—the strong anti-Catholic feeling, the seeming inability of some to reconcile Christian theology and ethical practice and the motivation of fear in the hearts of many religious stalwarts. Dr. Cronin's own sympathetic appreciation of his religion is unmistakable, and reading *The Green Years* will be a highly rewarding experience for every Christian.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Study and Action

World Order Movement

The following campaign materials have been prepared for individual, group, and congregational use:

Books

From Victory to Peace, by Paul Hutchinson. Willett, Clark & Company. Special World Order Movement edition. *Paper cover, 60 cents.*

The Christian Mission in Our Day, by Luman J. Shafer. Friendship Press, New York. *Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 60 cents.*

Amphlets and Leaflets

World Order Movement. The purpose and program of the Presbyterian Church-wide campaign. *Free.*

Tomorrow's World. Congressman Walter H. Judd's address before the General Assembly. *Up to 25 copies, free; additional copies, \$1.00 a hundred.*

Declarations on World Order. Statements of General Assembly, 1943 and 1944. *Single copy, free; additional copies, 3 cents each.*

World Organization Takes Shape. The story of the International Conferences from Hot Springs through Dumbarton Oaks. *5 cents.*

Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid in Europe, by W. A. Visser 't Hooft. An approach and program for Christian "Reconstruction." *10 cents.*

A Primer for World Order. A brief and colorful presentation of Christianity at work in international relations. *3 cents each.*

Worship Services and Commitment Card

This Nation Under God and On This Foundation. *\$1.00 a hundred.*

My Commitment to Action for Christian World Order. A card for individual use. *Free.*

Order these WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT materials from any Presbyterian Book Store.

Materials from Other Sources

A Durable Peace in Europe, by William Henry Chamberlin, and ***A Durable Peace in Eastern Asia***, by Willis Lamott. *20 cents each; 25 copies, 15 cents each.*

Statements on World Order. *10 cents.*

Order from The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

The Changing Far East, by William Johnstone. *25 cents.*

Breaking Up the Japanese Empire, by Lawrence Rosinger. *25 cents.*

What Future for Italy? by C. Grove Haines.

What Future for Germany? by Vera Micheles Dean.

The U.S.S.R. and Post-War Europe, by Vera Micheles Dean.

Order from the Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1938, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

None but the Lonely Heart—with Cary Grant, Ethel Barrymore. (RKO-Radio.) A powerful and highly moving dramatization of Richard Llewellyn's story of East End London life. The sordid background and the equally sordid story of cockney folk who play out their existence against it are not material for light entertainment. Much of the picture is frankly tragic in its implications, but wise and intelligent writing and direction have given these lowly people a certain dignity in their pathetic and often blind reaching out after a better life. This is particularly true of Cary Grant's characterization of Ernie Mott, the shiftless youth who struggles against his environment for some understanding of the meaning of life and love. Miss Barrymore's role as Ernie's mother is played with unforgettable skill and sympathy. **Mature.**

The Climax—with Boris Karloff, Susanna Foster. (Universal.) This handsome technical color revival of the stage play popular a generation ago is highly theatrical and replete with the most artificial situations. It is the story of a mad doctor who, by hypnotic suggestion, robs a young singer of her voice because she reminds him of the opera star he once loved. Miss Foster plays well a dual role, impersonating both singers. Her voice is charming, but the songs she sings hardly measure up. In spite of the limitations of the story, the period décors and costumes, a good cast, and the charm of color make this pleasant if not notable entertainment. **Family.**

When the Lights Go on Again—with James Lydon and Barbara Belden. (PRC Pictures.) This film is an attempt to present the difficult theme of the returning soldier. It tells the story of a young Marine who has been shell shocked. Through the loving understanding of his friends and parents, the young soldier is gradually restored to the full, healthy existence of the world around him and his responsibilities in it. The script is strained and the movement slow in places, but on the whole, it is moving, sincere, and thought provoking. **Family.**

Laura—with Gene Tierney, Dana Andrews, and Clifton Webb. (Twentieth-Century Fox.) For those who like murder mysteries, this is a suave and sophisticated film based on Vera Caspary's novel. The exciting tale revolves around a bitter, selfish, and lonely newspaper columnist and the young girl whom he befriends and teaches the ways of "artistic living." The suspense of the original story has been preserved and the business and dialogue needed to make it a real "thriller" have been added. **Mature.**

Vigilantes of Dodge City—with Wild Bill Elliott. (Republic.) A good, brisk Western in which stagecoach robbers and horse thieves are caught, their plots foiled, and the loot recovered. **Family.**

Mrs. Parkington—with Greer Garson, Walter Pidgeon. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) Based on the novel by Louis Bromfield. Mrs. Parkington, as the film begins, is 84 years old. The picture, however, depicts her adventurous life in America and England in a series of adroit flashbacks. The action begins with Susan as the teen-age orphan daughter of a boardinghouse keeper in a Western mining town. She marries an industrial magnate, who takes her to New York and a Fifth Avenue mansion and brings the story down to the present. It is a leisurely film which boasts handsome sets, rich costumes, a good cast, and excellent direction. **Mature.**

And Now Tomorrow—with Loretta Young and Alan Ladd. (Paramount.) Based on the novel by Rachael Field. The story concerns a girl who has lost her hearing and the effect of this loss on her and the man to whom she is engaged. A complicating factor in the story is the young doctor who treats her and finally succeeds in bringing about a cure. The story is unoriginal and the movement rather slow. However, the film is notable for the excellent work of Miss Young, who plays the difficult role of the deafened girl, and the good work of a talented supporting cast. **Family.**

Irish Eyes Are Smiling—with June Haver, Dick Haumes, Monty Woolley. (Twentieth-Century-Fox.) This is a heartwarming story on the familiar theme of boy-meets-girl, given distinction by good acting, attractive songs, excellent photography, and the charm of technicolor. **Family.**